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U.N. Survives Great Power Clashes

The first part of the third session of the United Nations General Assembly closed at the Palais de Chaillot in Paris on Sunday, December 12, amid denunciations of the U.S.S.R., jubilation about the successes won by the United States, and searching questions concerning the future effectiveness of the international organization. What did the General Assembly achieve or fail to achieve in this part of its third session, the second part of which is to open at Flushing Meadow early in April?

Hurdles to Political Action

The Assembly was called to act on three major political problems, two of which—the Balkans and Korea—are direct results of World War II, and the third—Palestine—can be traced both to a war-generated situation and to a long-standing conflict between Jews and Arabs. On the *Balkans*, the Assembly for the second year condemned Albania, Bulgaria and Yugoslavia for aiding Greek guerrillas and called on these three countries to cease such aid and to co-operate with Athens and with the UN Balkan Commission in attempts to settle the Balkan dispute. The Assembly extended the life of the commission, contrary to Russia's demand for its termination, and called on Greece on the one hand, and Albania and Bulgaria on the other, to re-establish diplomatic relations. Acting along similar lines, the Assembly rejected a Russian resolution demanding dissolution of the UN Korean Commission, which had supervised the 1948 elections in the American-occupied zone of *South Korea*, removed the Ukraine from the commission, and approved recognition of the South Korean government

established at Seoul. A corollary to this resolution was the announcement in Seoul on December 10 that the United States and the South Korean government had signed an agreement providing for at least \$300 million of American aid to South Korea during the next three years.

On *Palestine*, the Assembly appointed a Conciliation Commission consisting of France, Turkey and the United States,

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with the powers and functions formerly held by the Mediator and the Security Council's Truce Commission. The Conciliation Commission was instructed to assist "governments and authorities concerned to achieve a final settlement of all questions outstanding between them" through negotiations conducted either with the commission or directly, and to facilitate the "repatriation, resettlement and social rehabilitation of the refugees," estimated at 500,000 Arabs and possibly 10,000 Jews. No action was taken by the Security Council on Israel's application of November 29 for membership in the UN. The Assembly established a relief program for Palestinian refugees, which will be directed by Stanton Griffis, United States Ambassador to Egypt.

On the initiative of Mexico, the Assembly on October 20, 1948 called on the great powers to compose their differences and "to redouble their efforts in a spirit of solidarity and mutual understanding to secure in the briefest possible time a final settlement of the war and a conclusion of all peace settlements." In spite of this resolution, which was adopted with 50 in favor, none against and none abstaining, the future of the *Italian colonies* was left over for discussion in the second part of the Assembly's third session; and the Security Council continues to wrestle with the Berlin issue, further aggravated in the closing days of the Assembly by the establishment in the Russian sector of Berlin of a Communist municipal regime which has defied the city government elected on December 5 in the Western sectors of the German capital.

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Disarmament—Atomic Bomb

In the field of armaments, the Assembly rejected, 39 to 6, a Russian proposal for "the reduction by one-third during one year of all the present land, naval and air forces as a first step in reduction of armaments and armed forces." Instead it adopted a resolution, opposed by Russia and the countries of Eastern Europe, requesting the Security Council's Commission on Conventional Armaments to pursue its work and to devote "its first attention to formulating proposals for the receipt, checking and publication by an international organ of control of full, precise and verified information by member states" as to the level of their conventional armaments and armed forces. With respect to the atomic bomb, which has been discussed in the UN apart from other, "conventional," armaments, the Assembly approved, 40 to 6, the majority of recommendations contained in the first three annual reports of the UN Atomic Energy Commission. The Assembly expressed "deep concern at the impasse" in the work toward international atom control but, contrary to the suggestion of the United States that the work of the commission be discontinued for the time being, asked the six permanent members of the commission—the Big Five and Canada—to hold consultations and search for a basis for agreement on international control of atomic energy. It directed that meanwhile the commission resume its sessions and continue to study "such of the subjects remaining in the program of work as it considers to be practicable and useful."

Human Rights and Welfare

Of greater significance perhaps for the future of the UN, and of mankind, than the discussion of thorny political and military problems, was the adoption of three measures in the field of human rights and human welfare. 1) The Assembly on December 10 adopted a universal *Declaration of Human Rights*, which had been nearly three years in preparation, by a vote of 48 to 0, with Russia, the countries of Eastern Europe, Saudi Arabia and the Union of South Africa abstaining. The Declaration, in the drafting of which Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, chairman of the drafting committee, and Charles H. Malik of the Lebanon, president of the UN Economic and Social Council, played a prominent role, defines political, social, economic and other rights deemed essential for every human

being. As the first part of a projected three-part international bill of rights, the Declaration proclaims general principles, and is to be followed by a legally binding convention defining the rights in specific details, and by measures of implementation. 2) On December 9 the Assembly adopted 55 to 0, with three absent, a *Convention on Prevention and Punishment of Genocide* (a term formulated by Raphael Lemkin, Polish-born international lawyer) which had been two years in the making. Genocide, under the convention, covers a list of specific acts committed "with intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a national, ethnical, racial or religious group." The convention, which Russia opposed on the ground that it encroaches on national sovereignty, provides specific processes for bringing to justice individuals, public officials or responsible rulers who may be charged with committing or with attempt, incitement to, or complicity in, genocide. 3) The Assembly also extended indefinitely the *United Nations Appeal for Children*, started in 1947 as an emergency agency to collect one day's pay from every citizen in every country for the purpose of aiding the children of war-devastated lands. The administrative organization of the Appeal for Children, hitherto an autonomous, nongovernmental agency, was placed under the UN International Children's Emergency Fund, a temporary specialized agency of the UN.

What Are Main Trends?

Out of the debates, resolutions and proposals which kept the delegates hard at work in extended day and, toward the close, night sessions as well, five main trends emerge.

1. The United States, through greater understanding of the views and policies of other nations, succeeded in rallying the support of the majority in the General Assembly for proposals it supported on one issue after another—the Balkans, Korea, Palestine, extension of the Little Assembly, reconsideration of membership applications previously vetoed by Russia, and so on. In the view of some American observers in Paris, this development gives the United States a mandate to pursue the course it is advocating with respect to Russia. According to others, the result may have been to crystallize the East-West struggle beyond hope of reconciliation.

2. Side by side with the support received by the United States must be set

perhaps the most important political trend in the General Assembly: the emergence of a group of small countries represented by able and hard-headed spokesmen—Belgium, Canada, Australia, Argentina—which has worked indefatigably to cushion the anticipated head-on clash between the United States and the U.S.S.R., not without making an impact on the two superpowers. There is a growing belief in this group that the very success of the United States in routing the U.S.S.R. again and again in the UN should cause Washington to use its power cautiously and magnanimously, lest this country, in turn, lay itself open to criticisms in the world forum.

3. Contrary to pessimistic predictions when the Berlin crisis was submitted to the Security Council, Russia has not made any move to leave the United Nations and, in the opinion of some observers, has gone farther than could have been expected in discussing issues which it had previously declared to be outside the jurisdiction of the UN. For the time being, however, Russia and the countries of Eastern Europe are in a minority which is constantly outvoted. It is therefore not anticipated that the Soviet government would willingly abandon the veto power in the Security Council which is its principal diplomatic weapon against majority decisions that it may regard as inimical to the interests of the U.S.S.R.

4. While the spotlight of world criticism for defiance of UN decisions has been played upon Russia and (in the Balkan situation) Yugoslavia, other UN members have sought to further their own plans or to justify their own positions in situations brought before the General Assembly and the Security Council—notably, Britain in the case of Palestine; the Netherlands in the Indonesian dispute, now opened wide again by the Dutch government's decision of December 11 to end the Java negotiations with the Indonesian Republic; and the Union of South Africa, with respect both to racial problems within the Union and to the Union's demand for incorporation of the former Southwest Africa mandate within its borders.

5. In the midst of accusations and counteraccusations, with much dirty linen being washed in public, the greatest achievement of the UN, by general consent, is the opportunity it provides for the continued confrontation of diverse civilizations differing widely in politi-

cal, economic and social conditions, and for the gradual, if seemingly much too slow, accommodation of divergent philos-

ophies of life, as best illustrated in the Declaration of Human Rights. Without this process, it is difficult to see how inter-

national organization of a lasting character can be established.

VERA MICHELES DEAN

Congressional Leaders Reappraise ERP

When David Bruce, head of the Economic Cooperation Administration mission in France, said cryptically in Lille on December 7 that Congress will decide whether the United States should continue to finance French economic rehabilitation, he directed attention to the fact that shifting American attitudes toward international political matters are bound to affect the character of the recovery program authorized in 1949, when the present authority of the ECA terminates.

The American conception of world relationships has changed since the Marshall plan became law last April 3. In the intervening eight months, the United States has assigned ever increasing importance to Germany in the development of policy respecting Europe, while hope that France will become America's strongest continental ally has declined. The Senate is growing impatient with our other partners in the recovery program, especially Britain, believing they have not made real progress toward integrating their economies. Moreover, the belief that the only way to cope with the Soviet Union is to contain it—which helped to goad Congress last winter to enact the ERP—is diminishing, at least temporarily. The assertion by Winston Churchill in the House of Commons on December 10 that Britain, if possible, should reach a political settlement with the Soviet Union before the Soviet government begins to manufacture atomic bombs reflects sentiment which has been gaining ground in the Executive Branch of the Federal government and in Congress.

ECA's Second Year

■ Leading members of Congress apparently regard the first year of the ERP as at least a partial success, but the kind of program which the Capitol outlines for the second year will depend on the relative importance which the Senate and the House of Representatives give to political and economic considerations. ECA Administrator Paul G. Hoffman may ask for appropriations totaling \$5.7 billion in 1949—\$1.2 billion in deficiency funds for the period April 1 to June 30 and \$4.5 billion for the 1950 fiscal year. The re-

port of the technical staff of the Joint Congressional Committee on the ERP, issued on December 4, indicates that the participating European countries have substantially increased industrial and agricultural production.

Political Problems of ERP

Meanwhile the operations of the ECA have created a number of complex problems which affect the political attitudes of members of Congress. Disagreement during the past two weeks between ECA and the French government over proposed plans for the use of the counterpart fund has intensified the present strain in relations between the United States and France. A primary purpose of the fund is to check inflationary tendencies, and the staff of the Joint Congressional Committee praised it as a device contributing "most directly" to the restoration and maintenance of soundness in European currencies. The ECA objects that French plans for using the counterpart fund are not anti-inflationary. The Queuille government contemplates investing 200 million francs from the fund for industrial development and intends to use the remaining 80 million francs as revenue for general expenditures under the national budget. The ECA holds that this use of the fund would shift to the United States a fiscal burden which should be borne by the French taxpayer. In his speech in Lille, David Bruce recommended austerity as the means by which France can attain the financial stability necessary to raise production and exports. The staff of the Joint Congressional Committee criticized France for not contributing as much to continental recovery as "her size and location would indicate she should." Senator Connally bluntly summed up the official condemnation of France when he said on November 29 that the "attitude" of the French people "is not so good."

The ECA has further strained American-French relations by persuading the Truman administration to stress the importance of Germany as a source of industrial materials for European recovery. Administrator Hoffman has repeatedly recommended that Allied occupation au-

thorities retain in Western Germany plants which France and other neighbors of the Reich claim as reparations. "We want only those plants left in Germany which will contribute to European recovery," he told a press conference in London on December 8. The French government, however, has protested that the program to use German industrial capacity and technical skill for the benefit of Europe can degenerate into a program to rehabilitate Germany at the expense of the rest of Europe. The disappointments which ECA officials and members of Congress believe the United States has suffered from other countries participating in the ERP, however, increases the attractions of Germany as the focus of plans for the continent's recovery. As an occupied country, it is at least partly subject to American control. Without questioning the assumption that Germany will be a loyal friend of the United States, the State Department has relied on the opinions of Mr. Hoffman and General Lucius D. Clay, American Military Governor for Germany, in ignoring French objections to the reduction of the dismantling program and to the Anglo-American plan of November 10 for reviving the Ruhr industries under German management. While British Foreign Secretary Ernest Bevin told the House of Commons on December 9 that the Labor government preferred public ownership of the Ruhr industries to the American program, London has found American negotiators unshakeable in the two-fold opinion that the Ruhr is the heart of the recovery program and that public ownership today would depress production in the Ruhr.

On political grounds, leading members of Congress have criticized all the European beneficiaries of ECA except Germany because they have not progressed more rapidly toward "a real unification of western Europe" through the Office of European Economic Cooperation. For this failure to fulfill one of the aims which attracted the support of many Congressmen to the Marshall plan, the staff of the Joint Congressional Committee blamed Britain, which, the staff report of December 4 said, "is charged unofficially by representatives of other par-

ticipating nations with not going all-out to bring about European unification because of her uncertainty as to whether she would be better off to base her future on her leadership of the British Empire or whether she should throw in her lot with western Europe." This⁶ comment has made British representatives in the United States wonder aloud whether their country will receive a useful quantity of goods through the ERP next year. Recognizing the influence that the desire for European unity exerts on American thought about foreign policy, Dr. E. N. van Kleffens, Netherlands Ambassador to the United States, said in a public address on November 19 that the possibility of abandoning the continental bilateral barter agreements which impede progress toward unity is slight as long as European countries have difficulty obtaining foreign exchange.

Russia and ECA

That these new political considerations influence Congressional attitudes toward ECA is already evident. Senator Connally on December 9 said that the Senate would demand all the facts about European recovery before it authorized more appropriations for ECA, and Senator Arthur H. Vandenberg, Republican, of Michigan, now chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, has predicted that ECA would face a "critical showdown" in Congress, although he thinks the recovery program has "vividly justified" its existence. A revival of hope that the United States and Russia can settle their differences encourages the development of this critical approach to ECA questions. Commenting on the most acute issue disturbing the two great powers, Senator Connally on November 29 said that "the matter of Russian currency in Berlin does not justify the cost of the airlift" by which the Western powers are overcoming the ground blockade of the German capital. He recommended that Russia raise the blockade, that the West thereupon accept the Russian currency for all Berlin, and that the great powers then convene a conference to deal with "the whole of the German problem."

BLAIR BOLLES

Report on Indonesia

What are the reasons behind the decision of the Dutch government to terminate negotiations with the Republic of Indonesia? How has the Republic developed since V-J Day? What part has been played in the Indonesian crisis by Britain, the United States, Russia, the United Nations? For authoritative information, READ

INDONESIA IN CRISIS

by RAYMOND KENNEDY, Professor of Sociology, and PAUL M. KATTENBURG, Instructor and Research Assistant in the Southeast Asia Studies program, Yale University

Foreign Policy Reports — 25 cents
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FPA Bookshelf

What the English Think of Us, by Fred Vander-schmidt, New York, McBride, 1948. \$3

A perennial bit of fluff about Anglo-American relations on the unofficial level. The chief of *Newsweek's* London bureau contends that the English do not think as much of us as they might. His story is sometimes entertaining, sometimes irksome, but rarely more than superficial.

The Gathering Storm, by Winston S. Churchill, Cambridge, Mass., Houghton Mifflin, 1948. \$6

The first installment (two volumes in one) of Churchill's war memoirs, a generous portion of both history and biography. It sweeps across the years in which Churchill was a warning voice in the wilderness of appeasement, carries through the initial phases of the war when he was First Lord of the Admiralty, and ends at the point where he became Prime Minister. Well written, of course, with occasional bursts of vivid prose.

The United States in World Affairs, 1947-1948, by John C. Campbell. Introduction by Dean Acheson. New York, Harper, 1948. \$5.00

The second volume in the postwar series of the Council of Foreign Relations, covering the development of the Truman Doctrine and the emergence of European Recovery Program up to Congressional passage of the Foreign Assistance Act last March. A factual, objective book which scans other important international events during this period.

The Pageant of India's History, by Gertrude Emerson Sen. Vol. I. New York, Longmans, Green, 1948. \$4.50

Mrs. Sen, an American who has lived in India for many years, is planning a two-volume history of India from its dawn to the present time. In this volume, she has written an interesting and valuable review of India's history to about 1000 A.D. The book is attractively illustrated with drawings from Indian works of art and archeology.

News in the Making

More effective co-ordination of the many agencies now shaping American foreign policy will be the principal recommendation of the foreign affairs subcommittee of the *Hoover Commission* on Organization of the Executive Branch of the Government, which will submit its report to Congress on January 13. While the subcommittee proposes that the State Department should formulate foreign policy objectives and the chief means for their implementation, it suggests the establishment of a series of cabinet committees, aided by a professional secretariat, which will integrate the activities of all agencies affecting foreign affairs, subject to the direct authority of the President who will make final decisions in case of interdepartmental differences of opinion. . . . The Hoover report will also recommend *co-ordination of the nation's domestic and foreign policies*. . . . As the UN General Assembly closed the first part of its third session, it was reported that *Italy* had privately notified the United States it would consent to British trusteeship of Cyrenaica in return for Italian trusteeship over Tripolitania. Since the State Department had already acceded to Britain's wishes to retain Cyrenaica, this move by Italy might pave the way to a compromise by the General Assembly when it reconvenes in April. . . . Disposal of Italy's colonies in Africa along these lines, however, would probably be opposed by *the Arab states and the peoples of Asia and Africa*, who regard it as a test of the colonial powers' intention to abandon old-fashioned imperialism in favor of national independence of existing colonial areas within the framework of the UN. . . . The statement ECA chairman Paul G. Hoffman made in a letter of December 3 to Senator H. Styles Bridges, chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee, that, beginning January 3, he would no longer require the shipment of *50 per cent of ECA bulk cargoes in United States flag vessels*, may precipitate a new official fundamental study to determine whether the merchant marine policy of the United States should be revised.

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